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CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor, five thousand strong, are now assembled in the city of San Francisco. This assembly is the annual gathering where the achievements, failures, and future welfare of organized labor are to be reported and deliberated on.

This year in particular is an unusual one in the annals of the workers' struggle for the right to live. Never before in the history of this country were there so many millions of men cast out from every productive industry where the machine and profits have triumphed. The "new deal" debacle that supposedly granted labor the right to organize only aided in the releasing of the pent-up feelings of the outraged and robbed workers. Strikes of immense proportions have taken place in the mines and the factories as well as on the farms.

In every one of these strikes, it was the robbed and exploited workers and farmers who paid with scores of lives, hundreds of wounded, and thousands of arrests—all perpetrated upon them by their own chosen government, the legal protector of plunder and exploitation.

From coast to coast these bloody attacks were perpetrated. Not a single government thug or exploiter has been brought forward to answer for these murders and brutal attacks upon the workers and farmers.

And what have the spokesmen of organized labor done in all these struggles? Most of the strikes came in spite of, or without the knowledge or consent of the paid officials of organized labor. Meek protests were issued by some of them after every attack was committed upon strikers. In Toledo and Minneapolis where the bloody strikes aroused the organized and unorganized workers to the point of being ready to come out in sympathy-General-Strikes with the struggling workers, the leading officials of the A. F. of L. did everything in their power to prevent the true spirit of solidarity from expressing itself. These paid officials of labor offered the

usual alibi that their craft agreements must be lived up to, even to the point of scabbing (as was actually done by the Printing Trades in the General Strike of San Francisco) upon other fellow striking unionists. In San Francisco where the workers threatened to come out in a General Strike in sympathy with the Marine Transport Workers, the officials of the A. F. of L. took control of the planned strike only to strangle and to betray it. As these lines are being written 400,000 textile workers terminated a strike that has cost the lives of more than a score of workers. The strikers were asking for a General Sympathy Strike of organized labor. Mr. William Green, the nominal head of the A. F. of L., issued the same sort of treacherous statement against such a move, as he did against the General Strike in San Francisco when it was even already going on!

If the representatives gathered in San Francisco would be composed of the true rank and file of organized labor, judgment and action against labor's paid traitors could be looked forward to. But this is not the case. The delegates are either job holders or lieutenants of the same officials. They will shower praise upon themselves, feast and banquet at labor's expense. The same Government officials who ordered workers to be murdered, crippled, and jailed will address the Judases of Labor.

No stronger proof as to what the present A. F. of L. represents need be brought forward than the following excerpts from the opening address of the convention by Mr. Green:

"What more must we do to win our right for collective bargaining? The only alternative, if these men will not respect the decisions of Congress and judicial tribunals, is for labor to unite its economic strength and go out on the strike field and enforce these decisions."

That we do not want to do. We want to settle our differences in the conference room. We want to bargain collectively. We want to meet around the table and talk it over

and plan and bargain until we reach a settlement."

If one were willing to plead for these paid Judases of Labor as simply being conservative and therefore dumb, how could such an assumption be reconciled with the statement of the head of the A. F. of L., Mr. Green, that unless the exploiters and rulers arrange to continue their exploitation system, the people, through "the government", will be forced to take over the industries and to run them for the benefit of all concerned? Or, how can one reconcile these officials' treacherous acts with the zeal with which they are trying to ferret out every radical thinking worker within the ranks of organized labor, so that they may safely continue to ride upon the backs of the workers?

The close alliances that prevail in every election between these leeches of labor and every Governmental job seeker, these officials' bitter enmity towards every real rebel and revolutionary outbreak of true social significance, alongside of all the above mentioned misdeeds, makes it self evident as to why NOTHING, absolutely NOTHING can be expected from this or any other similar gathering of labor's most sinister traitors.

The workers have demonstrated in every past struggle, particularly during the last year, how willing, how ready they are to give battle to the common foe of Justice and Happiness, the Exploiters and Rulers. Whatever gains have ever been achieved by the people have been due to this invincibly revealed sincerity and willingness. This onward march of the struggle of the oppressed goes on despite every obstacle placed in the way by the enemy from without and the traitors from within. Not even the armed murderous institution of the Government, nor the lying press, nor the hypocritical church, neither the Judases of Labor can stave off this ever growing struggle from its predestined triumph—the Dawn of Justice, Freedom, and Happiness.

In A Civilized World?

The purveyors of public opinion, the Press, Radio and Movies, are being utilized, as never before, to convey the impression that the human race lives now in one of the safest and sanest periods of man's evolutionary civilization. Despite all these reassurances, someone always pops up with a little bombshell that tends to disturb this assumed certainty. One of these incidents came about recently when a Dutch Quaker, Van Gheel Gildermeister, came forward with the declaration that: "there are today in Central and South-eastern Europe alone, not reckoning with Russia or the American continent, no less than 3,500,000 social and political prisoners!" His years of service as a Quaker for the relief and release of prisoners adds credence to his statement.

Thus the vain claims of the trinity of liars, in service of the present order, receive a most severe shock. No, everything is as far from being sane and safe in the present order, as that same order is from being civilized. The Oppressors, Dictators, Misleaders and Exploiters of the world ought to feel quite uneasy about all this, for their reign is resting upon a powder magazine that may blow up any moment. When this Rebellion sets in, let us hope that it will not set up new rulers and oppressors for old ones, but instead, usher in an era of liberty and equality wherein dictators, rulers and exploiters of all shades and colors shall have no place. It is only then that the words "prisoners" and "jails" shall no longer blot our histories, and the words "A Civilized, Safe, and Sane World" shall come to mean something more than the empty boast that they are at present.

The Munition Investigation

Senator Nye, who is chairman of the munition investigation now going on, has summarized as follows the revelations already made:

"A most sordid tale of bribery, duplicity and resort to the use of agencies of government to the end that there might be profit for the makers of ships, guns, powder and other things entering into the programs of war has been disclosed.

American battleships are used by gun manufacturers as "sample cases" in selling similar guns to other nations. Private concerns have been instrumental in provoking war scares, arousing suspicion between friendly nations and blocking disarmament efforts.

The United States Army and Navy helped to promote the sale of armaments to other countries.

The War and Navy Departments have released certain secret designs and patents on weapons to help private enterprises to sell their goods to foreign nations.

American munitions makers share profits with European manufacturers.

Military officers representing the United States at disarmament conferences have been represented as "closely tied" with makers of war machinery."

Upton Sinclair's Epical Adventure

The triumphant capture of the nomination on the Democratic ticket by Upton Sinclair, as also his possible election, is now the chief concern of the reactionary and liberal forces of the country. And for no sound reason at all.

The evolutionary conversion of Sinclair from a life-long member of the Socialist Party, and one of the widest read writers of Bolshevik-ruled Russia, into a singer of praise and a worshiper of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Tammany Hall's chief job dispenser, Mr. Farley, cannot be such a shocking event to those who know his real past activities.

Sinclair began his public career as an employee of William Randolph Hearst. He was the one chosen as most fit by Mr. Hearst to sit at the typewriter here at home and to invent the most revolting atrocities purported to be committed against exploiting American sharks in Cuba. These falsehoods finally lead to the Spanish American War resulting in the slaughtering of thousands of innocent people.

In the last world-war Sinclair joined the band-wagon of Woodrow Wilson to "make the world safe"—as every one admits by now—for the profiteers of other's labor.

The legal assassination of Sacco and Vanzetti by the State of Massachusetts was utilized as material by Sinclair for the writing of a distorted novel of the lives of our two martyred comrades.

His backing of the film, "Thunder Over Mexico", and his allowing the Hollywood distorters to cut out the most important social parts filmed, and the adding of a "patriotic" finale, coupled with Sinclair's crying defense that he had to do it in order to save his "investments" didn't at all tend to strengthen the already shakeable prestige of Upton Sinclair.

Now Sinclair emerges with a brand new scheme: EPIC (End Poverty in California). The original plan was to seize all the unused land and the factories and to operate them for the benefit of the people. To achieve this, Sinclair discovered that he was a born "Democrat", and forthwith announced his candidacy for nomination on the Democratic ticket.

The people ever so ready to believe and to hope that this or that Messiah will bring them into the promised land, fell

The tale of corruption by the "esteemed citizens" that is causing some uneasiness the "statesmen" of other countries, to "commerce" here, and also to democratic and republican politicians running for re-election, all these forces are already attempting to strangle any further important revelations. But what has already come to the surface is more than sufficient to arouse the people to a realization that the munition racket is but one of the many rackets that constitute the basic foundation of the present order of Exploitation and Rulership. When the present order goes, all its racket-props will disappear with it. Not before.

for the Epic plan of Sinclair. But on the eve of his gaining the nomination Sinclair changed front. Instead of "seizing" the unused land and the factories, which he said may prove illegal, he would rent these from the owners. What he would do if the owners would refuse to rent, he didn't state.

At the Democratic convention in Sacramento, the infamous scab-supplies of the cotton pickers' strike, George Creel, and the equally infamous politician, Senator MacAdoo, with their gang of lieutenants made Mr. Sinclair appear as a mere errand boy of theirs. In the platform adopted at this convention, there isn't even a reference left of the original colossal Epic plan.

The manner in which Mr. Roosevelt coached (if he needed it at all) Sinclair for two hours, the manner in which all the democratic politicians have rallied to his support, tends to show that there is no more danger of the profiteering system being affected by the election of Sinclair than it is in being affected by the reign of Roosevelt's "New Deal".

* * * * *

The Socialist Party is most disturbed by the Sinclair campaign. Norman Thomas stated that the election of Sinclair will prove to be the greatest disaster to the Socialist movement of this country, hardly realizing what a great truth he had uttered. For, the election of any labor or socialist candidate for office in the institution of Government based on the stipulated principle of legally sanctifying and perpetuating the plundering of the wealth created by labor, can under no circumstances end otherwise than in sheer tragedy. Either the elected officials live up to their sworn oaths, before taking office, to uphold and to protect the robbery of the masses, or they face ouster proceedings that the courts would grant only too readily.

The triumph of the Socialist movement in the Parliaments of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Italy, France, Spain and every other country—what have all these triumphs brought but bitter disappointment and treachery to the true interests of the workers?

It was on this pivotal issue that the split occurred in the First International. Karl Marx leading the pro-political faction and Michael Bakunin inspiring the opposite one. Close to fifty years of Socialist political triumphs bears out the position of Bakunin and the Anarchists.

The Anarchists have and still contend: that the solution to all our sufferings from exploitation and rulership can only be solved by mass insurrection. Not by entering the brothels of parliaments, or by renting abandoned land and factories will true emancipation dawn.

Two roads lie before oppressed mankind. One leads to Betrayals, the other leads to Freedom for all to live and to enjoy the fruits of one's own labor in fellowship, contentment, and joy.

THE BACKGROUND OF FRANCISCO FERRER'S ASSASSINATION

The Struggle in Spain

In his immortal "Caprichos" the celebrated Goya has left us an unsurpassed characterization of the Spanish rulers. Bold attacks against the whole political and social order, especially against royalty; severe arraignment of the ruling clericalism, hypocritical religion and its dogmas; merciless critique of the Inquisition, priesthood, and superstition; biting satire of the court, nobility, and ministry characterize the great work—an ethical panorama of powerful irony alternating with phantastic dreams. In this work the artist is submerged by the free thinker and critical observer of his social and religious surroundings.

A century has passed since Goya has given "Caprichos" to the world. Yet the character of Spanish rule has not changed. Its spirit is today as brutal, bloodthirsty, and destructive as a hundred years ago. The modern descendants of Torquemada rule not only Spain, but the whole Catholic world; one of them, Merry del Val, is carrying out, as the Pope's secretary, the policies of the Holy See. The proverb "y a Roma por todos" (to Rome for everything) still applies in its full significance.

Notwithstanding, the world moves. While clerical dominion did not change, the life of the Spanish people has undergone a tremendous transformation, a great spiritual evolution, so much indeed, that today we are witnessing a social struggle for emancipation which for determination finds nowhere its equal save in Russia.

Russia and Spain—the farther North and South. What contrast, and yet what striking similarity in the political and social aspirations of the two nations. At the same time, what ignorance abroad in regard to both countries.

To the superficial observer modern Spain is, like New Russia, "terro incognita." The average man of today knows Spain only as the land of Inquisition and bull fights; a country which once indeed had mastered the world, produced great artists like Velasquez and Murillo, dramatists like Calderon and Lope de Vega, as the immortal author of Don Quixote de la Mancha—yet a land which today is on the road to complete decay. Such works as George Barrow's "Bible in Spain"—a pitiful translation of a drama by Jose Echegaray—or the exhibition of Ignazio Zuloaga, more French than Spanish, and perhaps the latest novel of Maurice Hewlett are about the sole sources of information of the ordinary man. He is entirely unaware of the tremendous struggle carried on in the Iberian peninsula, during the last half century, between the feudal powers and the legions of modernity; that the struggle has given birth to great thinkers, brilliant writers, and powerful organizers; that in the last decades thousands of revolutionists have bravely held aloft the banner of progress, and that innumerable martyrs have laid down their lives on the altar of humanity, and that, finally, Catalonia is the center of the most intelligent and revolutionary proletariat of Europe—all this is quite unknown this side of the Pyrenees.

If we acquaint ourselves, however, with the views on modern Spain expressed by well known investigators, literateurs, and revolutionists like Havelock Ellis, Tarrida del Marmol, Bart Kennedy, Enrico Malatesta, Charles Malato, and others who have personally studied the life and customs of the Spanish people, we shall behold a picture that must fill one with respect and admiration for the intellectual and revolutionary aspirations of the men and women of that underestimated nation.

No previous economic system has understood so well as capitalism to identify itself with the existing political form of a given country. In republican America it allies itself with corrupt politics; in autocratic Russia it was with Tsarism; in militaristic Germany with the aristocracy; in Spain with clericalism.

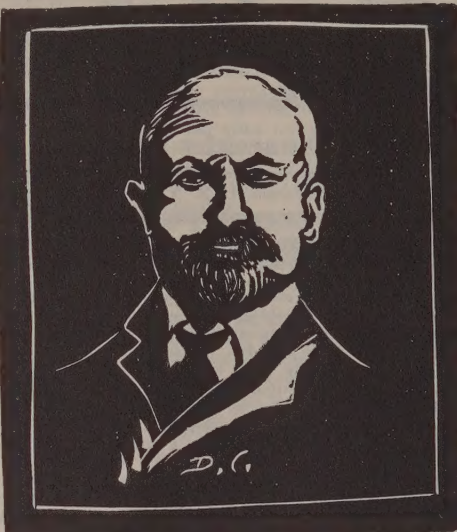
The Socialist movement in Spain, in its essential modern form, dates from the time of the old Internationale. Yet even prior to that period Spain possessed a Socialist movement. The workingmen of Catalonia had already in the 50's of the last century an organization numbering ninety thousand members. At the forcible dissolution of the organization by General Zapatero, in 1855, about fifty thousand workmen quit their factories, thus initiating the first general strike in Europe.

In no country did the Internationale gain a firmer foothold than in Spain, where all the members of this revolutionary body held Anarchist views. The social uprisings of the 70's, in which Michael Bakunin played such a prominent part, are a matter of history.

With the spread of the revolutionary labor movement, repression on the part of the masters grew ever more inhumane and tyrannous in proportion to the greater energy displayed in the war against the capitalist regime. The names of Mano Negra, Alcala del Valle, and Montjuich are written in letters of fire in the martyrology of the Spanish proletariat.

Now, what happened in the summer of 1909 in Barcelona? The international stock gamblers were preparing for new pillage, namely in the Riff district, situated in the Spanish sphere of influence in Morocco. The natives resisted, rising in the defense of their fatherland. The camarilla in Madrid, participant in the intended capitalist robbery, arranged a campaign against the rebellious natives. Mobilization orders called out the reservists, consisting exclusively of workingmen and poor peasants unable to buy their freedom from active military service, as do the sons of the rich. Not satisfied merely to exploit the people at home, the rulers of Spain were planning to use them as cannon fodder. Heartbreaking scenes were witnessed when the Catalanian reservists gathered in the port of Barcelona preparing to be shipped to Africa. Old parents sobbed for their luckless children about to be sent to certain death; women cried over the loss of their husbands, and poor children faced the miserable fate of poor orphans. Many reservists refused to go aboard, and numerous riots followed.

Witnessing these terrible scenes, the organized workmen of Barcelona became aroused. They decided to do what the so-called friends of peace at la Carnegie failed to do, too mindful of their financial interests. The Solidaridad Obrera, the revolutionary federation of the trade unions of Barce-



FRANCISCO FERRER
(1859-1909)

lona, called a special meeting of its delegates to consider the situation, with a view of organizing a national protest against the war. The Governor of Barcelona prohibited the meeting. That happened on the 23rd of July. Three days later a spontaneous General Strike broke out in Barcelona and other Catalanian cities. The industrial life of that large province suddenly came to a standstill. The railroads ceased operations, and the postal and telegraph service was suspended.

Had the Catalanian uprising received sufficient aid from the workers of other provinces, the result would have been different. Unfortunately, however, the labor bodies of those districts were under the influence of parliamentary Socialists, who lacked the courage to advise their followers to join the General Strike. Still, the real purpose of that revolt was achieved. The government was paralyzed, and the embarkment of the troops could not take place at Barcelona.

The rage of the authorities transcended all description. They bent all their energies to master the situation, employing toward that end the usual governmental methods of slaughter. The result is well known. But though the popular uprising was thus mercilessly strangled, the General Strike had achieved its aim: the mobilization of reservists had to cease.

The camarilla at Madrid could not forgive the Catalonians this significant defeat. It thirsted for revenge. The terrible scenes that followed the Paris Commune were now to be repeated in Spain. About fifteen thousand persons—men, women and children—were arrested in Barcelona, Mataro, Manresa, Sabadell, Gerone, and Angles; among the prisoners were the most prominent labor leaders and many veterans of the revolutionary movement, like Anselmo Lorenzo, Christol Litran, as well as Francisco Ferrer, the founder of "Escuelas Modernas."

No other country, except as did once Russia, possesses a greater percentage of illiteracy than Spain. Among its seventeen million inhabitants only five million are able to read or write. In most of the government schools priests and nuns are the instructors; the lay teachers are sworn to defend and support the Catholic church. The first attempt to broaden the scope of popular education was made in the 70's of the last century by the free-thinkers and republicans. They organized a number of secular schools in various parts of Spain—chiefly in Catalonia, financing them in spite of their poverty and in the face of great opposition and persecution. In 1883 these schools became federated into one organization, under the general supervision of Bartolomeo Gabarro, a former priest. But the new body failed to surmount the difficulties of the situation, with the result that it soon became disintegrated, owing to governmental persecution on the one hand, lack of means and proper methods of instruction, on the other.

The factor which brought new life into the educational movement of Spain was Francisco Ferrer.

Hippolyte Havel

The Farical Trial

Francisco Ferrer was tried by court martial in Barcelona on October 9, 1909. The trial has been fully reported. Not only has the Spanish government published a collection of trial documents, but the newspapers of Europe were represented at the proceedings by reporters. It is from the official documents, as well as from the newspaper reports, that the following facts are set forth.

Imagine a man trapped in the midst of his enemies; confronted with the testimony of a multitude of soldiers, spies and weak-kneed radicals who had turned "State's evidence"; undefended except by an army captain whom he had been compelled to choose at the last moment. This was the plight of Ferrer.

Every influence was hostile to him. The presiding officers who constituted his judge and jury were military men who

had themselves taken an active part in suppressing the people's anti-militarist revolt in July. No less than sixty witnesses had been persuaded, or bribed, to testify against him. Many obviously testified to save their own skins, and several were allowed to testify anonymously. Not a single witness was heard on Ferrer's side.

Pale from his prison confinement and clad in rough hoodlum cap and clothes which the prison authorities had provided as part of his punishment, Ferrer's first act in court was to apologize for his personal appearance. He was cutly interrupted. The reading of the indictment was called for.

Thereupon the magistrate who had been engaged in collecting evidence against Ferrer pointed out that among the articles seized during the inquiry were documents relating to a proposal for a Spanish Republic, various Masonic writings, letters from Free-Thinkers, and documents relating to a universal society of the proletariat. He stated that these articles proved that Ferrer had had dealings with the revolutionary elements for several years past.

The Barcelona Chief of Police was then permitted to make a deposition in writing. "Ferrer," he said, "is an ardent Anarchist, a propagator on a large scale of radical ideas, which he seeks to inculcate in our youth through his Modern Schools. At Paris he was one of the most active agents of the Confederation of Labor. At London he associated with well known revolutionists and Anarchists."

One phrase in this deposition recalls the charge against Socrates. Ferrer, like the old Greek teacher, was accused of "corrupting the youth." If to inculcate higher ideals and aspirations in the minds of the young is to corrupt them, then Ferrer was guilty, but only then. As to the other accusations of the Chief of Police, one, that Ferrer was an active agent of the well-known French "Confederation of Labor," is entirely false, and the rest are inconsequential. It is no crime to be "an ardent Anarchist," nor is it a crime to associate with "well known revolutionists and Anarchists."

After the deposition of the Chief of Police had been read, the Fiscal, or public prosecutor, proceeded to his formal indictment. By a strange irony of fate, the name of this man was Jesus—Jesus Maria Rafales. This is what he said:

"We prosecute Francisco Ferrer y Guardia as chief of a military rebellion. To state our charge precisely, we must explain in what sense we use the word chief. By chief we mean the commander, the superior, the head, the one whom the mob seeks and recognizes, who incites and directs the others, who alone raises his voice, proclaims the aim of the rebellion, and finds, apports, and distributes the means for accomplishing it."

It is well that we have the main charge of the Government so clearly stated. Everyone recognizes now that it was an absolutely untruthful charge. We know positively that Ferrer was not the head or the chief of the July uprising in Barcelona. We know it from his own statements, from the statements of his friends, and—most important of all—from the statements of the men who actually planned and led the July revolt, so far as it had any plan or leading. Mario Antonio, delegate of the Socialist group, Moreno, delegate of the workmen's federation and Miranda delegate of the Anarchists, all three of whom were forced out of Barcelona into France because of their revolutionary activities, agree in stating that Ferrer had nothing whatever to do with the insurrection. Antonio wrote to the Paris Socialist daily, Humanite:

"I have never conversed with Ferrer, have never even seen him. Upon my honor I assert this, and no honest man has the right to doubt my word. I was one of the three members of the Strike Committee at Barcelona, was of the Committee which declared the strike, which took the leadership of the movement and which followed closely its different developments. I affirm that neither I nor any one of the fighters who were in touch with us during the events of that tragic week saw Ferrer participate in the movement."

No more direct or specific statement than this could be conceived. If the object of the court-martial in Barcelona had been to discover the truth, such testimony would have come before it. But no such evidence was heard or desired by the coterie of military officials who tried Francisco Ferrer. Instead, they listened to the irrelevant, rambling and misleading statements of sixty witnesses governmentally inspired.

These witnesses were not heard in court. Their depositions, like that of the Chief of Police, were read. This in itself was a grave injustice, and, it should be added, a grave violation of Spanish law. The Spanish Government must have been conscious of irregularity, for it allowed false reports to be sent out to the newspapers conveying the idea that the witnesses had actually been heard. It was only through dispatches in the London Times that the truth leaked out.

Captain Galceran made a heroic effort to save Ferrer's life. He tried to bring into the court the whole collection of books used in the Modern School. Having confiscated these, the Government could and did refuse to allow this request. Letters and documents of the most vital consequence, explaining as they did, Ferrer's presence in Barcelona, and other matters bearing on the case, were actually sent to Captain Galceran by Ferrer's friends in France and England, but were "lost" in the Spanish mails. On October 2, Galceran wrote to Madame Soledad Villafranca—then imprisoned with several of Ferrer's associates in the town of Teruel, asking for an affidavit signed by all of them and setting forth the facts as they knew them concerning Ferrer's movements during the rioting in Barcelona. This letter was four days in reaching Madame Villafranca. The affidavit was prepared and posted immediately (October 7). It should have reached Captain Galceran the next morning. It did not arrive, and was never heard from.

In open court Ferrer's advocate eloquently pleaded for the prisoner's life. He showed that Ferrer's ruin was sought by the corrupt interests menaced by the Modern Schools. He had encountered, he said, in the preparation of his case so much

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IN OUR LAND OF THE "FREE AND THE BRAVE"

The police of New York City, under the administration of the "liberal" Mayor LaGuardia, raided the Fur Workers Industrial Union. After ransacking the office, they arrested fifteen workers present.

The mother of Tom Mooney is dead. The labor politicians of San Francisco refused to let her parade in their "labor" day masquerade. The fascist governor refused to allow Mooney to pay a last tribute to his mother who stood by him to the very last. The Warden refused even to allow Mooney to look at the cortege as it was passing the gates of San Quentin.

Antoinette Cannon, chairman of the North Atlantic Hospital Social workers reported at a conference of 375 members that the health of the unemployed of America is 33% more impaired than that of those employed.

Fourteen lonely wanderers—in search of shelter—found death on March 23 of this year when the Federal Transient Relief Bureau of Lynchburg, Va., burned down.

"They'll either work or not eat. Anyone who strikes in these times deserves to starve," decreed the employers' Government administration of Waterville, striking textile center of Maine.

The National Association of Manufacturers advised all employers of the country to ignore the recent majority rule decision in favor of trade unions by the National Labor Relations Board. No one came forward so far to denounce the manufacturers as traitors—for placing themselves above the government.

Fourteen lives of workers were sacrificed in the recent textile strike. Armed scabs, sheriffs and soldiers did the killing.

After ordering the arrest of every known Communist in the state, Governor Green of Rhode Island declared:

"Rhode Island is the cradle of freedom of conscience and freedom of speech, as well as of political independence."

Eight hoboes were killed and many crippled when a freight train was derailed on July 8 at Laverne, Tenn.

Herbert Corwin, 50-year-old paroled prisoner from Sing Sing, came into a Bridgeport, Conn., police station on September 14 and stated:

"I want you to turn me back to Sing Sing . . . I'd rather serve the rest of my time . . . than resort to stealing."

"In terms of actual nourishment the workers are worse off today than they were a year ago . . . Deficits changed to profits. The workers on the other hand, have barely been able to improve their standard of living."—Dr. Carmen Haider before the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia.

Vigilantes of Tyrone, Ark., have attacked and beaten up the Socialist organizer, C. H. Smith.

The R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company recently staged the annual baseball game of its city police department and county sheriffs at Winston-Salem, N. C., by a parade in which all the minions of "law and order" carried riot guns, machine guns, tear gas guns, revolvers, and night sticks.

The American Civil Liberties Union charges the police of Jersey City with the death of Andrew Stapiensky, after being third degree. It also charges the police of Perth Amboy, N. J., with shooting Albert Mondo, a 17-year-old boy, as he was jumping from a freight train. He died from the bullet shots afterwards.

McGuffey, Ohio—"Yes, we're half slave and half free," said a striker in the rich Scioto valley onion fields. "We're half slave in the summer when we're working for 80c to \$1.25 a ten-hour day. Then we're half free in the winter time, when the government feeds us."

New York City keeps on making history. On May 2nd it sent the first batch of 200 unemployed men to the old Prison Farm at Greycourt, N. Y. 800 more are scheduled to be sent there.

The Farcical Trial

(Continued from Page Two)

"fraud" and "vile passion" in a single week that he was "completely overwhelmed."

The animus of the judges and prosecuting officers was by this time so pronounced and violent that Ferrer must have realized that nothing could save him. He contented himself, in his concluding speech, with a quiet protestation of innocence. He said:

"With the consent of the presiding officer, let me ask the Court to judge me only upon the facts connected with the events of the last week of July or of the days immediately preceding, during which certain persons incited or prepared the general strike of July 26. If this is done, you must find me innocent, for I had no part whatever in the inciting of that event.

"Let me say also that it would be wholly unjust to condemn me to-day for my political opinions or utterances during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, with none of which I ever been officially reproached or called to account for. Nor should my work during the present century in connection with the Modern School be brought up against me; for the publications of that school are either translations of classic authors, whose names are accepted and glorious, or else the work of modern authors of world-wide reputation, of acknowledged wisdom, of humane sentiments. Let me close by affirming that those who criticize the works published by the Modern School either have not read them, or else, as the result of the prejudice which they entertain, are incapable of judging them."

A few hours later the sentence of death was decreed.

So the hideous drama was enacted. So this brave man went to his doom. Francisco Ferrer, the founder of the Modern Schools, was condemned before he was tried.

Helen Tufts Baile and Leonard Abbott

Thomas Sharpe, marine fireman, one of the alleged victims of barbarity at the hands of the San Pedro police, appeared before Mayor Shaw of Los Angeles, Calif., with his right leg in a plaster cast. He told the mayor he suffered a compound leg fracture through blows with a club by Policeman Strand. He declared under oath that Strand then twisted his right foot and wrenched his left arm; that medical treatment was belated and inadequate; that he was taken to another jail and kept in a bull pen for eight days during which his requests for a doctor were ignored.

Mr. Taft described the kidnapping and beating of Attorney Grover Johnson of Los Angeles and Mrs. Anne Jamison of San Pedro who had been looking up witnesses in a strike case. They were abducted by daylight on one of the principal streets of Wilmington, a suburb of Los Angeles, and were driven by several thugs to a lonely spot in the country, where they were cruelly treated. Brass knuckles evidently were used on Mr. Johnson, as he was badly cut. Both were threatened with worse violence if they did not immediately leave the county. The Mayor promised to "act."

Okey Odell, spokesman of the Union Pickers strike was kidnapped and beaten by a mob of vigilantes. He afterwards returned to his house daring anyone to molest him, as he brandished a shot gun. A group of armed strikers stood guard over his house all night.

Bill Reich, educational director of the Unemployed Leagues of Ohio, was sentenced to thirty days imprisonment after being brutally beaten by the police. Fifty-five members of the National Unemployed Leagues were also held under arrest as a result of public demonstrations.

Criminal and civil suits for police brutality are being pressed by the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee on behalf of David Thayer Burbank, young Socialist, who alleges he was severely beaten in police headquarters following an arrest during a demonstration before the Austrian Consulate in February. The case is being handled by Attorney Irving L. Spencer. The suits are against Detective Bauer.

In Staunton, Illinois, Oscar Sturm, a member of the state executive committee of the Socialist party and secretary of the Illinois Workers' Alliance, powerful state-wide unemployed organization, had been set upon in the street by a well known bully and knocked unconscious and kicked brutally while police stood nearby. Sturm was then arrested on charges of disorderly conduct by the police.

In addition reports came from St. Clair county of the revival of Illinois' intolerable Criminal Syndicalism Act under which members of the American Workers' Party have been arrested and charged.

In Hillsboro, fourteen leaders of an unemployed demonstration were arrested after the demonstration was over and are being held on \$8000 cash bail for the grand jury which does not meet until fall.

In Nokomis, Illinois, the mayor by simple proclamation has forbidden the assembly of four or more persons and the American Legion has organized a Vigilants' committee that claims to be able to mobilize 500 armed men at a few hours notice to crush any organized manifestation of the unemployed.

In DuPage county just outside of Chicago, the American Legion in Glen Ellyn and Wheaton have boasted that they will prevent or break up any future meetings of the Socialist party.

The effort of the state of South Dakota to make permanent the first injunction ever issued restraining farmers from organizing against foreclosures and evictions is being fought by the American Civil Liberties Union through Henry Paul, Duluth attorney. The case is being argued in the Fifth Judicial Court at Sisseton, S. D. The temporary order was issued against the United Farmers League and the Unemployed Council by Judge Howard Babcock on February 23.

Under the heading, "Who Owns the San Francisco Police?" The Nation has published an article accompanied by photostatic copies of two police reports on raids of radical headquarters, marked, "Attention Director Boynton" (of the Industrial Association.)

Eliza Harrison, 77-year-old suicide, was in effect murdered by Pittsburgh relief authorities, Robert Lieberman, Socialist leader representing the Unemployed Citizens' League, charged in a relief hearing last week.

"Father" Coughlin, the erstwhile famous "saviour-to-be" of the people has received a set back. His strong speeches for silver money were traced to his very doorsteps—when his secretary, Miss Amy Collins, assumed responsibility for investing \$20,000 in twenty contracts for 500,000 ounces of silver.

Rev. Douglas Anderson of Iliopolis and former church minister Norman Thomas were greeted by tear gas bombs and afterwards arrested when they attempted to speak on the Christian County Court House lawn of Illinois. The state officials did the dirty work against the two ministers. And "God" above looked on without any evident interference.

No less than five faculty members of the "liberal" renowned University of Wisconsin have recently lost their positions due to their open activities in the Socialist party. These are Ross S'agnin, John Powell, Delos Otis, A. H. Tuttle and E. L. Vernon.

The students of Oberlin college at Ohio have played a mean joker on the heads of the college. In their student publication they printed an article depicting the sweat tactics of the Aluminum corporation of America, and then asserted that the college itself owned \$4,000,000 worth of corporation stock. The dean promptly suppressed the publication.

Andrew Mellon is accused as responsible for the ousting of Dr. Ralph E. Turner as Professor of History at the University of Pittsburgh. His opinions were too liberal, of course.

James J. Stewart, young high school teacher of Plumville, Pa., was refused a permanent teaching certificate because he quoted Theodore Roosevelt as saying that "we just went in and took the Panama Canal Zone."

Mitchell Berenson, a high school graduate, was refused a diploma at the New Utrecht School of Brooklyn, N. Y., because he had protested against the food served in the school lunch room.

29 people died of hunger in the city of New York during 1933, according to Better Times, the Welfare Council publication. The hospitals received 86 starvation cases. The greater number of the victims were laborers, artists, newspaper men, actors, and language teachers. Their ages were from ten years upward. The same report also states that there were 697 cases of malnutrition and 110 of these resulted in deaths during last year. Thus fared the needy of the metropolitan city under the first year of the "new deal"!

To prove how sincerely he meant what he promised by saying that he would drive the money changers from the "temples"—Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Joseph P. Kennedy to "supervise" the "operations" of Wall Street. Kennedy was only recently exposed as having taken part in a "pool" which made \$400,000.

Donald Richberg, high chief in the Roosevelt administration, has issued a remarkable report on Sept 2nd. Private funds for charity have vanished, as did also local funds. There are now more than 16 million people depending on relief. He expects that this coming winter the number will rise to close to twenty million.

Wall street estimates on September 1 that 315 corporations will pay dividends totalling about \$200,000,000, while a year ago payments were about \$150,000,000 by 300 corporations.

Bert Hillside

Patriotism and War

The causes of the war in Boreal Chaco are:

Economic interests of the Standard Oil Company, which dominates the petroleum exploitations of Bolivia,

Economic interests of the Royal Dutch, with a marked influence in Paraguay, State interests in Bolivia, searching for an outlet through the East,

State interests in Paraguay for the possession of Boreal Chaco, probable wealth of the disputed zone,

Interests of U. S. bankers in issuing new loans and for a greater dominion of South America.

Interests of Paraguayan, Bolivian and Argentinian exploiters, 3,300,000 hectares of land are owned by the Standard Oil in Bolivia; \$100,000,000 owed by Bolivia to the U. S. A.; 600,000 pounds owed to England; 12,000 leagues of extension, more or less, in the Chaco now litigation; 6,000 leagues exploited by North American interests, and the other 6,000 in Anglo Argentinian hands.

Debt to Argentina 5,400,000 pesos. (A peso is about 35c.)

Annual expenditure by Argentina for Army and Navy of 167,307,883 pesos.

Cost and destruction of 1914-18 war, 10,000,000,000,000,000 francs.

The peaceful world has spent \$4,000,000,000 for arms in 1933.

And so the world marches on with its sadistic motto: "Hell on Earth and Peace in the Graveyard."

L. Raymond

Canada Makes Herself Heard

Harry Stevens, Minister of trade and Commerce in Canada, has recently made use of a startling weapon by which to further his own political ambitions. He issued a statement in which he charged that:

"... unscrupulous financiers and business men had exploited Canada's consuming public, starved her producers, sweated her workmen, 'gouged' her pulp and paper and other industries and had left the country faced with a choice of reform, dictatorship or revolution."

Mr. Stevens doesn't favour, of course, revolution. Reform, with himself as the reformer, is sufficient for him. The robbed people, if they wish to see an end to the evils Mr. Stevens speaks of, will have to employ the last named choice—Revolution, if any real change for the better is to take place.

"The Hungry Sheep Look up and are not Fed."—Milton

Don't mention "sex," my preacher friend;
Your smug hypocrisy might end.

Hush "birth control" and feed intense
Unwanted flames with innocence.

Stick to the gospel saints adore,
And bless the Holy Cause of war.

Suave tool of greed, your rosary tell
Within a safe and cushioned hell.

Is death the only way to gate
The heaven of your insipid prate?

Ecclesiastical thong of scorn,
Was Jesus' kindness never born?

Proud icicle, can you not drip
One briny word on fevered lip?

—LLOYD FRANK MERRELL.

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THE RULE OF TORTURE—FASCIST METHODS

Since a cog slipped in the German Nazi machine, bringing it, for the time being, into supposed conflict with clerico-Fascism, it is being asserted that Italian and Austrian Fascism are less cruel, tyrannous, and reactionary than their more Northern Sister. It is inferred that French Fascism would offer a still milder form of dictatorship, and that British Fascism—if and when it is installed—will be a benign and friendly creation of social circumstance.

Australians are advised to beware of such propaganda. Fascism everywhere carries with it the entire destruction of human liberty, the death of culture, the complete enslavement of the working-class. Its methods are and will be the same, no matter where it uncoils itself. These have proved themselves to be the methods of prison, torture, and death.

Attempts to excuse and glorify the Fascism of Rome, while criticising or condemning the Fascism of Berlin, are being made, even in Australia. They are part of a certain propaganda—entirely subtle and dangerous—which is overdue for exposure.

The truth regarding Italian Fascism shows an appalling condition of affairs in Southern Europe, which—were it not for the fact that Fascism offers Capitalism another, doubtful, lease of life—would have brought down upon it long enough ago the universal condemnation of the British and American Press.

Despite the enormous sums disbursed abroad by Mussolini to purchase favorable publicity, despite the rigid censorship exercised over such Italian newspapers as Fascism permits to be published, in spite of all the interlocking financial interests which are concerned, and in spite of the reactionaries, accurate information has, from time to time, reached the world.

This information has not only been released through the publicity channels of the working-class, through the bulletins of Third and even Second Internationals, but it has come via the pens and voices of journalists and writers who are not identified with the Labor Movement, and who speak independently of any working-class organization.

The horrible treatment meted out to wretched political exiles on the Italian Islands has been several times exposed.

Few, very few, foreign journalists have succeeded in getting access to these Fascist hells, where men and women have been doomed to slow death under conditions that can hardly be credited. One of these enquirers is Henry Greenwall, of the London "Daily Express."

In his report, this reliable and unprejudiced writer, who succeeded in his secret mission, states that "prisoners in Italy are arrested on information received, often because of personal vendettas, acts of commercial rivalry, or acts of jealousy. The arrested man is seized without warning, taken away, and cross-examined for long periods. Then he is handcuffed, placed in a sealed car, a sort of black hole, horribly hot in summer and bitterly cold in winter. The journey (to the place of imprisonment) lasts anything from 20 to 40 days. . . the prisoner is handcuffed from 50 to 150 hours. . . Life on the island is grey and sad; they all have to drag out this life of living death because of offenses, real or imaginary, against the dictatorship!"

From other sources we learn that the prisoners are beaten, spat upon, ill-treated, tortured, and often shot or flogged to death. On one occasion the militiamen who guard these wretched captives ran amuck, wounding twenty-five men, women and children. The Fascist doctor refused to attend to the victims of police panic and brutality.

In Ustica, "one of the prisoners' barracks is a large room with twenty-five or thirty bags of straw in two irregular lines. Pieces of clothes, shoes, bandages, rags, papers and quantities of dirt filled the floor. The stench was terrible. In one corner of this dormitory there was a hole in the floor—the prisoners' lavatory."

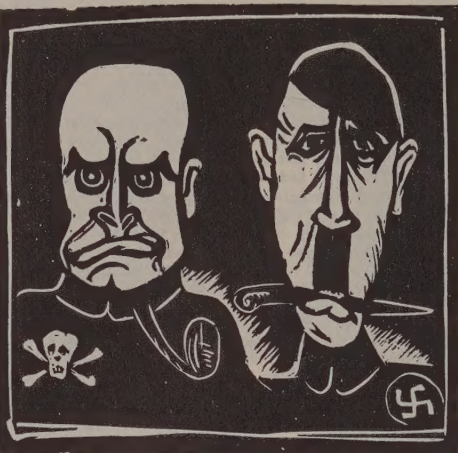
"But that is not the worst," says the writer of this note, which was smuggled out from the prison island of Ponza—"recently one of the murderers disappeared. For days we did not find him. Life had gotten too bad even for him, and he had committed suicide by jumping into the water tank. He could not commit suicide by jumping into the sea, because we are watched. While the body rotted, we drank the water—"

Another voice from this Fascist Inferno tells us that "in addition to blows, clubbing, kicks and spitting in the face, the Blackshirts use sandbags, irons, and an instrument they jokingly call the 'nut cracker.' It is made of two wooden sticks, fastened at one end by a piece of leather. The pain of the men tortured in this 'nut cracker' is beyond human imagination." Prisoners have gone insane under the tortures of Fascism—a "philosophy" to which at least one member of the Argyle Government has publicly boasted that he subscribes!

Among the new methods of torture applied by these beasts is one called "crucifixion." The victim is placed on the ground, his arms stretched horizontally, and Fascist militiamen in unison engage in apparent attempt to pull the arms out of the body. As a rule this does not lead to death, but in one

case the aorta broke, the victim became covered with blood, and, when a doctor arrived, was dead!

Not so long ago Henri Barbusse, the great French writer and pacifist, addressed the Italian Ambassador in Paris, de-



Mussolini's and Hitler's Motto: Death to Justice and Liberty!

manding an impartial and neutral investigation into these repeated reports of torture and actual murders of anti-Fascists. The Fascists refused to reply. In repeating his demand Barbusse said:

"Still more tragic news reaches us from Italian prisoners, facts which increase the despair as to the fate of 6000 anti-Fascist prisoners whom we know from varied and trustworthy sources, are locked in prisons in Italy, or exiled on the Islands. Information coming to us from all parts of Italy establishes beyond doubt the fact that torture has become part of Mussolini's prison system. These tortures frequently cause the death of the political prisoner."

Then followed cases of unbelievable cruelty, incredible, diabolical outrages, perpetrated by Fascist gaolers and officials.

It was shown that the reports of suicide, given out by the police (as in Nazi prisons and concentration camps), is "merely an official term applied to describe the death of any prisoner who succumbs to torture."

"According to these cases of which we are constantly hearing"—so the protest continues—"it appears that the Fascist prisons have been turned into shambles. Besides these instances of mortal suffering and death, some of the few which can reach us through the thick walls of the Fascist prisons, we have news of other cases of torture, throwing a

sinister light on the methods of suppression used by the Fascist Government. It is clear that we confront a system, a bonafide and well organized school of torture, receiving orders from higher officials, and from a central organization created and directed by the ruling power."

We come to such conclusions from the fact that the tortures are used on political prisoners, according to a method prepared in advance and identical in all Italian prisons!

Besides the stabbing with sticks filled at the points with powdered lead, besides the fist blows with iron gloves, which are used in all police stations, we have information that the following methods are used upon political prisoners "to make them talk":

1. Blows drawing blood.
2. The use of boiling water in which the prisoner's hands are held to extort confessions through physical pain.
3. Starvation, total darkness and blows used alternately.
4. Injections of chemical substances in order to create a state of madness and obtain information "from the prisoner during his deliriums."
5. Pricking the testicles with pins until serious inflammation has begun.
6. (Too brutal and indecent to be printed here.)
7. Thrusting pins deep under the nails.
8. Enemas of a solution of iodine causing very painful blisters in the intestines.
9. Cutting the tongue with knives.
10. (A vile method of torture executed upon women prisoners, with the result that in one known case the victim was driven insane.)
11. Making use of insects, as in Florence, where, to secure "confessions" from political prisoners, a black beetle under a glass is kept on the victim three and four hours until he "talks."

The foregoing facts, and worse, have been fully verified. Such is Italian Fascism, the system of Government which some of our capitalist politicians and publicists openly defend and applaud!

The German, Austrian, Polish and Balkan forms of Fascist Government are equally cruel and vile.

Only by constant vigilance, by united effort will the workers of Australia be able to prevent this rule of blood being enforced upon them.

Only by constant exposure of the role which is already being played by its emissaries, agitators, and secret supporters, can we hope to arouse a firm opposition to the last Capitalist slavery, the implementation by force of a new barbarism, a more fearful tyranny over body and mind than that which was exercised by the rulers and priests of a medieval past.

Even now these Devil's Advocates, these Servants of Evil, are slyly paving the way for Fascism in Australia.

The industrial organizations should watch carefully that no Fascist ideology is permitted to take root within or without the Labor Movement.

"Labor Call", Melbourne, Australia

SCRUTATOR

Anarchy or Chaos?

M. ACHARYA

The governments don't want revolutions—but by making conditions for living impossible they are inevitably bringing revolutions about—against themselves. By conspiring to keep people blind about their own dangers and dangers to their lives, they are calling forth a revolution which will be social, which will put all wars and Bolshevik bloodshed into shade. They are creating experimentally economic conditions which make people psychopathic and more blood thirsty than ever. And yet they cry in horror against revolutions and condemn anarchy—as if anarchy if consciously arranged would be worse than the chaos into which they are precipitating mankind in order to prolong their systems if it were possible.

The anarchists don't want killing—whether by order from above or spontaneously from below. As consistent and logical to the extreme pacifists, they try to prevent every bloodshed. They are trying to help in arranging an elastic system in which all can live without killing or even imprisoning anyone. Provide the minimum necessities for all and give freedom—all will then go the way of least resistance—but not kill them. Bloodshed? The economic vivisection which all governments practice against all peoples—because the systems maintained and attempted are becoming impossible, that makes bloodshed inevitable, since the people tortured economically to death cannot see in their desperation who is friend and who is foe.

But the gentlemen above and their opponent disciples below, the masters and disciples of violence and bloodshed, are in conspiracy with each other to keep and perpetuate violence—against anarchic peace in society. They are afraid that their lives will be lost if they told they cannot govern them any more, after having promised they could arrange peoples' lives if these only kept quiet and obeyed, "behaved." Not only they are afraid of losing their jobs or profession of "leading" people but they are afraid of losing their lives by confessing they cannot do what they promised. It is a conspiracy of silence to keep people ignorant about their path—till they come to the brink of their graves. High treason? It is always on high. Not far from now, they will come—both the misled people and misguided rulers to the end of their reign, then there will be bloodshed to make order out of the chaos, where every man's hand will be every other. Will chaos then save the rulers who have blinked all the time the real issues?

Anarchy? Only man has lived till now outside of anarchy and peace. As a consequence, man has shed man's blood, murder is a "human" feature. In anarchy alone all can live in peace—for it is as elastic as nature. In anarchy birds and bees have lived through thousands of millenniums with less—far less—bloodshed, and no bloodshed at all among each

species, in spite of man's hunting and trying to destroy whole species.

Every man, like every animal and plant, is a boon anarchist—harmonious. But the first bloodshed has made him a man of this "order." There is no return to bloodshed—even for Man. The moment social revolutions start, man will have, will be compelled, to give up arms in favor of the plow. It is possible that killing will interest none but the deprived of this civilization and order.

The anarchists are trying to prepare man for that moment dawning. All others are chaotic boules—not mere boules.

Back Home Again

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party of America has turned down the plea for a united front, made upon them, by the Communist party. They, the Socialist party, wish to see how the unity entered in by the Socialist party of France, with the Communists, will work out. Should it prove a real "unity," they also will enter into the marriage ceremony with the Communists here.

Emile Vandervelde, the president of the Second International made this interesting comment on the events in France:

"I am fully in accord with Leon Blum, with Paul Faure and with Lebas that it was morally impossible for them to decline."

The statement of Vandervelde, if it means anything at all, will have the effect of bringing together once again the stranded Socialist "communists" into one Socialist International. The Ballyhoo season of the "communists" is evidently over. The politicians of the socialist movement are about to perform the ceremony of an International wedding.

The proletariat well remembers the treacheries committed by the Second Socialist International. It therefore ought to know what it can expect from this new emersion of a "united" front International.

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JAMES NEILL NORTHE

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ANARCHISTS: Nestor Platon Makhno

The Russian revolution, and particularly the uprisings of the Ukrainian peasants against the bloody reign of the Eichen-Skoropadski usurpers which followed the Brest-Litovsk peace and had cost the peasants no less than 80,000 victims, brought into prominence the name of Makhno. This was in 1918.

Nestor Platon Makhno was born in a village of Ukraine, Gulai-Pole. In his early youth he was already active in the Socialist movement. He soon became an associate publisher of the "Boro Vystnik." At the age of 20 he shot a "Pristov," a czarist secret police agent. He was condemned to death, commuted to life imprisonment and banished to Siberia, where he languished for ten years. The hardships and sufferings brought consumption to him, and the 1917 revolution brought his release.

It was with such a background, and imbued with the Anarchist ideal, that Makhno threw himself into the battle against all the counter-revolutionists that were holding sway over Ukraine, and threatening the erstwhile achieved revolution in every other part of Russia. His fervent work didn't prove in vain. The oppressed and suffering peasantry listened to him with admiration, to the point of being inspired to battle against all the enemies of freedom.

Augustine Souchy describes in his interesting study "The Workers and Peasants of Russia" (issued by the Industrial Workers of the World) the activity of Makhno in these terms:

"Makhno organized the peasants against the Germans and against Skoropadski-Warta. There were in Gulai-Pole, a village of about 30,000 inhabitants, seven men who were good rebels. Among them were Makhno, Tschuenko and Gribelenko. They had some rifles and took in the first day 80 Skoropadski soldier prisoners. Besides they took rifles and collected money for a fighting fund, and for the first 3,000 rubles they bought a machine gun, some bombs and one revolver. Makhno is a splendid, fiery orator, and understood how to inspire the peasants to fight. Through his success he became famous among the peasants and was soon known in the whole government and later in all Ukraine. From all sides the peasants gathered round him and wanted to serve under his flag. His power became stronger from day to day, and towards the end of the year 1918 he had an army of 50,000, or, according to some reports, 70,000 men."

The whole movement soon became known as the Makhnovtzes. Their first success was in driving out of Ukraine the Austrian and German counter-revolutionary forces. The most significant and outstanding fact in these victories was the guerilla-inspired campaigns of the peasants, as against the well disciplined organized armies. But these were by far not the last counter-revolutionary forces that the peasants of Ukraine had to put up with. France, England, Roumania, and the United States, the whole entente, were in ghastly fear of the success of the revolution in Russia and Ukraine, so they began to provoke and to finance old czarist generals like Petlura, Kaledin, Grigoriev, Denekin, and Wrangel, later aiding with soldiers as well.

The Bolshevik government that was busily engaged in strengthening its power in Central Russia was becoming most uneasy at the rising tide of the Anarchist inspired peasantry. At the same time they were also in fear of the open threats of the counter-revolutionists to march on Moscow, if triumphant in Ukraine. The Makhnovtzes were running short of arms, ammunition, and provisions. These were asked of the Bolshevik government. But it was not until February, 1919, that a mere wagon load of cartridges was sent by Debenko, the commander of the red army in Crimea. Other meager shipments followed, but these were insufficient to cope with the situation. The Bolsheviks made it quite plain that what they were after when they sent an emissary to propose to Makhno that he become the supreme commander of the army in Ukraine, was to subordinate him to the Red army under Trotsky.

Neither Makhno nor the movement he inspired could concede to this proposal. The peasantry wanted peace, land, and liberty. They were willing to fight for these things. They were willing to die if necessary. Makhno pointed out to them that achievement alone was not sufficient, that they must be ready at all times to defend any gain that they make lest a new enemy in the form of authority arise to take it back. Thus the peasantry of Ukraine came to distrust and to hate and to fight every form of authority. To them, a Bolshevik government was no exception. It was therefore but natural for the Makhno movement to reject the proposal to subordinate itself to the red army.

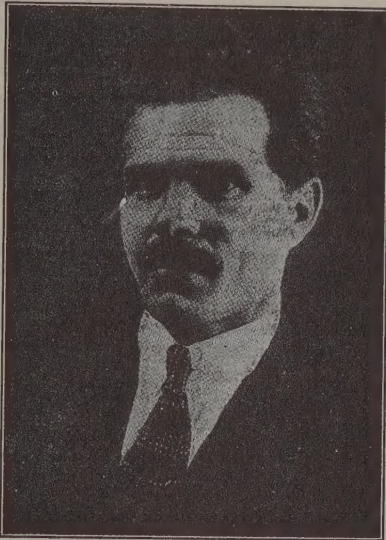
The Bolshevik government thereupon declared war upon Makhno and the Makhno movement. "Trotzky," writes Souchy, "was really in an extremely difficult situation. The Red army stood in the North, Denekin in the South, and Makhno with his army in the middle of the two." By limiting the ammunition sent to the Makhnovtzes, Trotzky had hoped to weaken the movement. It did. But it also endangered the Red army.

On April 29, 1919, Trotzky delivered a talk against the Makhnovtzes in Charkov, declaring that it would be better if the white guards should triumph—for then the peasantry would call back the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks declared Makhno had committed treason and therefore outlawed him. His brother, who was discovered in a hospital, was taken for Makhno and murdered. Makhno and his co-workers went ahead as best they could.

In the fall of 1919, the Makhnovtzes were threatening to triumph over the Denekin forces. The Bolsheviks revoked the sentence of death against Makhno and his movement was no longer labeled "counter-revolutionary."

The crushing defeat of Denekin didn't at all discourage the allied financiers and governments of the entente. Grigoriev followed, only to meet the fate of Denekin. Then came the last of the counter-revolutionary attempts, via Wrangel. It was again the Makhnovtzes who bore the brunt of the struggle. The role of the Bolshevik government in its campaign of slander against Makhno and the movement he inspired, can be best adjudged from the following excerpts of a statement that made its appearance in the English "Russian Press Review," of October 29, 1920, (published by the government at Moscow). It states in part:

"The War Commissariat has published the following correction: The French press has, as is probably known, written a good deal about Makhno joining Wrangel. The Soviet press, in its turn, has also published documents



NESTOR PLATON MAKHNO

(October 29, 1889—July 25, 1934)

which have shown that a formal alliance existed between Wrangel and Makhno. But it has now been ascertained that this information was not correct. . . . All documents published about a formal alliance between Makhno and Wrangel were forged by Wrangel. . . . At the present time Makhno is carrying on his operations of war under the direct supervision and orders of the commander of the army of the South, Comrade Frunzy."

The conditions under which the Makhnovtzes agreed to co-operate with the Red army, are contained in a documentary agreement signed by Bela Kuhn, former Hungarian People's Commissar, representing the Bolshevik government, and Popoff, representing the Makhnovtzes. This document is of too great importance to be quoted in part. It is, in my opinion, the most significant event in the entire course of the Russian revolution. It proves beyond any kind of a doubt the real spirit that pervaded the Makhnovtze movement—the spirit that led to all their triumphs over every disciplined counter-revolutionary army, and of which spirit Nestor Platon Makhno was the main inspiration. It is an agreement befitting sincere revolutionists of all shades when facing the common enemy. It follows herewith in full:

"AGREEMENT.—In regard to provisional co-operation in the military operations between the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the revolutionary guerilla army of Ukraine, called 'Makhnovtzi':

1. The revolutionary guerilla army of the Makhnovtzi joins the forces of the republican army as a guerilla army, which in its operations is subordinated to the supreme command of the Red army. But it retains its previous organization, without adopting the principles and the fundamentals of the regular Red army.

2. The revolutionary guerilla army of the Makhnovtzi, which is located on the territory of the Soviets along or across the front, shall not take up in its ranks such parts of the Red army as wish to desert to it.

Note: The parts of the Red army or the isolated red soldiers who in Wrangel's rear come together with the revolutionary guerilla army, shall again unite with the Red army when they meet with it.

The guerilla Makhnovtzi who are still in Wrangel's rear, as well as the population which in those parts of the country have entered the guerilla army, remain in the ranks of the latter, even if they have before been mobilized by the Red army.

3. The purpose of the agreement between the command of the Red army and the revolutionary guerilla army "Makhnovtzi," is to annihilate the common enemy, the white army. The Makhnovtzi declare themselves in agreement with the request of the command of the Red army to discontinue the hostilities of the population against the Red army. At the same time the Soviet government announces the agreements entered into, in order to obtain the greatest possible results in the tasks designated.

4. The families of the soldiers of the revolutionary guerilla army "Makhnovtzi," who live on the territory of the Soviet republic, are entitled to the same rights as the soldiers of the Red army and shall receive from the Ukrainian Soviet Government the relief agreed upon.

AGREEMENTS.—In regard to provisional co-operation in political questions between the Soviet Government of Ukraine and the revolutionary guerilla army of the Makhnovtzi:

1. The immediate liberation of all those persecuted and the discontinuance of all further persecution in the domain of the Soviet Republic against all Makhnovtzi and anarchists, with the exception of those who have carried on an armed fight against the Soviet Government.

2. Complete free agitation and propaganda in words as well as through the press for all Makhnovtzi and anarchists and their ideas and principles, with observance of military censorship in military matters. For the issuing of all anarchist and Makhnovtzi publications (books, magazines, papers, etc.), which are recognized by the Soviet Government as revolutionary organizations, the Soviet State places all the technical material at their disposition on the basis of the general rules which apply to publications.

3. Free participation in the election to the Soviets, as well as right for Makhnovtzi and anarchists to become members of the soviets, and besides, free participation in the preparations for the next V. Soviet Congress of Ukraine, which will take place in December, 1920, is guaranteed.

Accepted by the representatives of both parties to the agreement at the conference on October 16, 1920.

Signed by BELA KUN,
POPOFF"

The above agreement made possible the vanquishing of the Wrangel forces, and with it, the last remnants of the

counter-revolutionists. But no sooner was the victory achieved than the Bolshevik government broke its agreement and started a merciless battle against the Makhnovtzes by immediately arresting all the known anarchists of Ukraine.

On December 7, 1920, the Bolshevik news agency, Rosta, stated in a news release that:

"The Soviet commander at the Southern front has started a merciless fight on all the robber bands under Makhno, which still operate in the Ukraine."

To crown its acts of duplicity and treachery, the Bolshevik government sentenced Makhno to death as a bandit! No one will ever know how many heroic peasant fighters for true Freedom were exterminated, imprisoned, and exiled by the Bolshevik officials in Ukraine. By sheer trickery and the rankst dishonesty, the Bolsheviks overcame the Makhnovtzi movement, but the glorious deeds of the Makhnovtzi battles, and the great historical agreement which they signed and were living up unto the very last moment, will remain forever as the most inspiring phase of the Russian Revolution.

The perfidy of the Bolshevik rulers reached its climax with two dastardly acts. After the Makhnovtzi movement was wiped out by them, some of the Makhnovtzes made their safe escapes to other countries. Among these was Makhno himself. The Bolshevik government had the effrontery to demand of the Polish and Roumanian governments the extradition of Makhno! Failing in that attempt, a campaign of slander was set in motion. The slander was to the effect that Makhno himself ordered his co-workers to perpetrate pogroms upon Jews.

The characteristic method employed by the Bolsheviks was fully revealed in an album issued in the year 1926, entitled "The Jewish Pogroms in Ukraine," written by one Ostrovsky. Under the photos of Makhno and other Makhnovtzes appeared the subheading: "Pogrom Makers." But not a single proof of any pogrom was brought forward, as was under the photos of all the other real pogrom makers!

The Hebrew writer, Druyanov, who has issued a few books on pogroms, stated, that among all the materials he gathered on this subject there is not one word that would accuse the Makhnovtzes or Makhno.

N. Schechtman, the Zionist-Revisionist of the "Western Historical Archive" of Berlin, has stated that "among the huge piles of pogrom material that are to be found with us, Makhno as a pogrom maker is not there."

A. Tcherikover, in his book, "Anti-Semetic and Pogroms in Ukraine," contains all the names of pogrom makers, even of those of the Red army Lenin Brigade of Gluchow, but the name of Makhno and his comrades does not even appear in the 380 page book.

In the book of the erstwhile deceased Communist, N. Stief, "Jewish Pogroms in Ukraine," there isn't shown a single instance of pogroms involving the Makhnovtzes.

Among the Makhnovtzes there was one named Tepper-Gardeiev, who joined the Bolsheviks. In 1924 he wrote a book, issued by the Russian government, in which he attempts to discredit the social significance of the Makhno movement. But even this Gardeiev, himself a Jew, underlines that all accusations against the Makhno movement being implicated in pogroms upon Jews are untrue. Not only that alone. He points out that when some white guardsists joined the Makhno forces with the avowed aim of using the movement to make pogroms, the Makhnovtzes ordered them shot. (Makhno himself is reputed to have shot to death one of the worst pogrom instigators.—Grigoriev.)

Sh. Schwartzbord, the man who shot to death, in the streets of Paris, the infamous pogrom maker, Petlura, is one of the strongest defenders of the Makhno movement.

Makhno himself must have felt very hurt at these base calumnies that emanated against him from the "revolutionary" rulers of Russia, for, from his last asylum in Paris, he demanded a Jewish tribunal to be called together where anyone possessing evidence incriminating him or his movement should appear. No one among the Jewish people made any move to convene such a tribunal. Certainly no guilty man would ask to be tried, and appeal to the accusers to come forward and to face him!

I have purposely dealt at such length with all the details of the Makhno movement, for this movement constitutes the life-work of Nestor Platon Makhno. In vindicating the movement from all the slanders of the Bolshevik sources, Makhno himself is likewise being fully vindicated.

As said before, Makhno found refuge in Paris. He struggled very hard to earn a livelihood as a cobbler. The Russian Anarchist Communist Federation of the U. S. was planning to bring him to America in 1923, but their plans never materialized. During all his years of exile after the crushing of the Makhno movement, he suffered from many complications of the bullet wounds received in the struggles he found himself in, for the freedom of the people in Russia.

About seven months ago he was taken to the hospital "Tenon," of Paris, and a few months ago in this same hospital he underwent a serious operation from which he never recovered. His sufferings came to an end on July 25, and his last remains were cremated three days later on the "Pierre Lachez" crematorium cemetery.

At the cremation, a large group of French, Russian, and Jewish comrades were present. Addresses were delivered by the French anarchists Pierre Benar and Louis Loreal, and by the Jewish-Russian anarchist, Wollin, who worked within the ranks of the Makhno movement during all the time of its activities, and who was also forced to escape from the Bolshevik claws.

Thus came to an end the life-activity of an Anarchist at whom the Anarchist movement can point with pride. The only regret is the fact that this heroic life contained in the physical frame of Nestor Platon Makhno, came to such an early end. For he was only forty-five years old at the time of his death. In the album of the many heroic figures that our ideal and movement has inspired in every part of the world, this great rebel of Ukraine takes a most honorable place.

DISCUSSION

An Answer To Balilla Iorio

So Balilla Iorio scoffs at the anarchist's ideal of freedom! Being an egoistic anarchist, altho not a "super-egotist" I hope, allow me to reply to him.

Let me outline the philosophic basis of the ideal of freedom in his own language—that is—Anarchy in terms of Materialism. To start with, let us say that every known phenomenon, including man, is a natural phenomenon and subject to all of the laws of nature. Man is (if I sound dogmatic it is because I am trying to be brief) nothing more nor less than a delicately balanced mechanism that must maintain this balance, within certain close limits, in order to exist in the form of a living body. Its only functions are, first to maintain itself in a condition of equilibrium and, second to procreate itself. Our desires are a manifestation or an indication of a disturbance of the equilibrium of our bodies and impel us, in every instance, to act in a manner that will restore the body to a normal, balanced condition. This can be better understood if we divide our desires into two groups: (1) fundamental desires such as hunger, curiosity, sexual appetites, desire for comfort, security, etc., (2) auxiliary desires or the desire for things that will aid in the satisfaction of the fundamental desires. Since there is a desire behind every act, we may say that, as far as we are concerned, our desires are the motivating force or the determining factors of our lives and life can have no meaning other than the satisfaction of the desires, for only through satisfaction can it maintain itself. Knowledge is a tool we seek and employ for the single purpose of aiding us to satisfy our desires and determines the manner or method we employ to this end. Our environment more or less determines (1) our knowledge (hence our auxiliary desires), (2) the extent or degree of satisfaction of our fundamental desires. All of which gives us a closed chain of caused phenomenon that is thoroughly consistent with all of the "immutable" laws of Nature.

Now the point about freedom is this: Before any desire can be satisfied we must be free to act in a manner that will lead to its satisfaction. Hence freedom is the prime requisite of life itself, for life ceases to exist when its fundamental desires can not be satisfied, and the degree of our freedom determines the limits within which we live. The desire for freedom then, must be an inherent characteristic of all men which makes the philosophy of anarchy a philosophy that is deeply rooted in human nature.

The next point to be considered is how much freedom we can hope to attain, for certainly we—perhaps I should say "I," agree with Iorio in believing absolute freedom to be an imaginary ideal—impossible of attainment by man.* Let us go back to our Materialism for an answer. Man evolved under natural conditions that have only changed superficially. His desires, then, are such that no "law of nature" restricts their satisfaction for only those desires that could be satisfied have persisted. Man is what he is today because he conforms to Nature—it could not be otherwise.

It is true that "nature in the raw," as it were, is not always in a form that is advantageous to man and consequently constitutes a restriction to his freedom. However, while the "laws of nature" may be immutable, Nature herself is not changeless. She offers an infinite number of combinations and arrangements of her various elements, all of which are necessarily in accord with her laws and most of which may be rearranged into new or different combinations with the aid of her laws.

History may, in general, be interpreted as an account of Man's effort to rearrange nature to better suit his needs. It is important to note that every change Man undertakes to bring about is based on his intelligence—he makes a certain change because he believes that, one way or another, he will benefit by it. Hence every phase of our lives—or the manner in which we try to satisfy our fundamental desires—is determined by the ideas we hold. The social system, the industrial system, our moral codes, our forms of amusement, etc., are all developed, supported and maintained because we believe them to be to our best interests. So we reach the highly important conclusion that the limits of our freedom are largely determined by the limits of our knowledge. Hence the freedom the anarchist seeks is the freedom that it is possible to obtain by the application of knowledge that is already available but not yet employed. He wants the greatest possible amount of liberty that the ingenuity and efforts of Man can devise and obtain. It follows from this that his major grievance is against authority in all its forms, for authority is the essence of restriction. He knows it is not desirable; for every man instinctively dislikes to be subject to the authority of another (only those in power like authority—and it is this fact that makes us suspicious of those who advocate it) and he believes that it is reasonable to think that men can conduct themselves and their affairs without it. Specifically, then, we want freedom from authority and all of those social curses, such as privilege and property, that are dependent on authority for their existence. This is our first objective. Having attained this we can then work towards a greater freedom from the more natural restrictions of nature.

A plan? No, we haven't a "plan" in the strict sense of the word. But we have an idea, or a concept of how we may reach our objective. Let us go back again to our Materialism. We have said that the form of the social structure is determined by the ideas of the people. If the ideas change, the system changes. Hence we believe that the desired change can be brought about by liberating Man from his ignorance.

We must free ourselves from those ideas, beliefs and superstitions that create a social condition unfavorable to the full satisfaction of our normal desires. We use whatever

*Iorio, and all authoritarians, when they speak of the "impossibility" of absolute freedom, usually mean freedom itself.—Editor.

means we have at our disposal, individually and collectively, to demonstrate our ideas. Once they have been understood and accepted—Man will know what to do without a plan. We are not worried about how he will solve his industrial and other social problems for he has been ingenious enough to create the present system—and surely he can rearrange his affairs into a more satisfying system once the obstacles of privilege, profit and authority have been removed.

Anarchy is a philosophy, not based on what Man should be and on what he ought to do, but based on what Man is and on what he wants to do. It is founded on the belief that Man will find a way to satisfy his desires. Human nature will inevitably lead Man to Freedom.

F. WALKER.

What Is National-Socialism?

Just as the comedian, who produces the biggest nonsense, reaps the greatest applause, thus Hitler gained the most followers through his sophistry. What is National Socialism? A catch-word for the ignorant. Two words that contradict each other. National implies State, State means Government and any Government is the antithesis to Socialism as water is to fire.

The word Socialism in itself means a form of economy based on reciprocity. Abolition of all authority and robbery of man by man. The word National-Socialism was simply a business advertisement, those hiding behind it were the old-time Monarchists, Militarists, Terrorists and Slaveholders. This fact is outstanding today; there are but leaders and followers, or lords and servants.

Hitler is doing today the same thing that his enemies, the Communists and Marxists intended to do: to slide gradually from Private to State-Capitalism. Mankind is forced again into new conditions. Capitalism is digging its own grave. Through modern technic and continually squeezing more work out of the workers, wealth concentrated on one side and poverty on the other.

Today we have reached the point where Private Capital has to relinquish its privileges to the welfare of all. This process can be retarded through reactionary government or hastened through democratic or socialistic experiments.

FRED RAPOLD.

Freedom and the Means of Life

The various radicals make frequent attempts to obscure the future by their visioning and reasoning, and argue against the progress and advancement of mankind, confusing it with other things within the sphere of capitalist develop-

Workers' Struggle in Cuba Goes On

A Comrade from the sugar land of American dominated exploiters writes:

"The 'El Berduzo de los obreros Ferroviarios'—J. M. Romero—in the days of Machado's dictatorship is no more. The outside world knows perhaps very little of him, but the workers of Cuba knew him only too well.

Romero was the assistant administrator of the Cuban Railroad Company. He always was ready to protect the stolen property, even if it cost the last life of the plundered and exploited workers.

It was in the Hotel Camaguey where Romero used to hold his "court martial" for workers. He acted as judge, prosecutor, and jury. His assistants were the military clique in command. "Shoot to kill" was then the order of the day. It was through this bloody reign of terror that Romero became the confidence man of the exploiters of Cuba.

In the last railroad and longshoremen strike, Romero continued to act as chief advisor to the present tool of the American exploiters, Mendieta and the butcher Batista.

One early morning in July of this year, Romero was found dead on the street. A bullet ended the infamous career of the bandit and torturer of suffering workers. Seven workers were arrested and are being held on suspicion of causing the death."

On September 10, twenty-six workers were arrested in a workers' sport club at Ceiba. The club is affiliated with the National Confederation of Labor. All the arrested are accused of plotting against the life of Jefferson Caffery, the ambassador of American exploiters in Cuba. The "ambassador" commented:

"I am very much surprised. I knew nothing of it. In fact, I have heard no talk of my assassination since a short time after some one fired on my home, killing a soldier."

JOHN TURNER

On August 9th, the English anarchist John Turner died in Brighton, England, at the age of 70.

In 1896 Turner came to this country for a lecture tour that lasted seven months. In 1904 he came here for a second lecture tour. After delivering his first address he was arrested and taken to Ellis Island where he was held for seventeen weeks. His release on bail was finally achieved through the efforts of Clarence Darrow and Bolton Hall. He continued his lecture tour until the U. S. Supreme Court decreed that the then new anti-Anarchist law was "constitutional."

Most of his activities were centered within the Trade Union movement, principally as the secretary-treasurer of the Shop Assistants Union for thirty years.

When the deceased "Freedom" was resurrected a few years ago by a new group, Turner was its treasurer.

Erratum

"I wish to correct your statement in the August MANI, after the poem of Voltairine de Cleyre. 'The monument represents a woman (?) holding a dying man upon her knees, with one hand pressing a crown upon his forehead.' The woman represents the Revolution and she presses the crown upon the head of the fallen Revolutionist." *Otto Herman*

The title over the poem, "Hope," by James Neill North on page four of this issue should have been "Religion" instead.

ment. By doing this they overlook the more vital questions in which they should be concerned, and begin to expound the old, futile terms of abolishment and suppression of what, they reason, might be unnecessary or harmful to the public. They should know that the paramount question is, and has been, the emancipation of mankind. For just as soon as men are free to do what they would like to do of their own free will, the necessity for any set of rules in chosen professions will disappear. I disagree with what has been advocated, that certain industries ought to be eliminated as, for instance, if some bravo wanted to dig a mine to steal some minerals from under the earth that he, because of dangers of life, should be prevented from doing such a thing.

If men were entirely free, only the principles of service would maintain. One would be free to give up at any time any part he disliked less vital in his life. I am confident that under absolute freedom, men would soon adopt the easiest, the most natural and most human means in sustaining life and learning, and even advance to something much finer than we at present conceive, to the extent of their understanding of the meaning of real Freedom!

L. W. J. CONKLIN.

Social Progress

From the time of the early Greek philosophers to our present era history's record shows very little progress from a social standpoint, and this progress will continue to be slow, so long as ignorance and superstition are the dominant factors in our civilization.

One function of the political state is the ballot, and this function has been strengthened in recent years by granting the franchise to the fair sex. Has this added strength improved our social conditions and solved any of the difficult problems of today?

When we stop to consider the great number of our population, who through heredity or environment, lack the intelligence to understand their status in society, and we also consider the fact that from fifty to sixty-five per cent of the eligible voters do not register their choice at any election, it demonstrates the futility of political action.

There also are other factors, such as crediting minor party votes to major candidates, as was done in the last New York City election. Every little hamlet has its election frauds and corrupt public officials—its fusion of parties to defeat some candidate who might prove too honest to permit those in power to continue their graft.

HUGH BRADFORD REED.

Proletarian Motherhood

I am a woman and I want a child, a boy with eyes the color of the sky and a shock of wheat-colored hair. He would have a sturdy body and an imaginative mind. I like to lie awake nights and dream about his coming. I can see him going to school, playing games, learning to swim, falling in love and finally getting married.

I am a woman, my breasts are firm and full and my hips are broad. I was made to bear children, but something stands in the way. It is not a shadowy phantom but a very material thing that stands not only before me but is also in front of millions of other women.

We are not only women, we are also members of the working class, and as modern thinking proletarians we refuse to bear more children to come into this world destined to an existence unbelievable in its refined cruelties.

Our children are raised in the city streets. Their earliest recollections are of rooming houses, or cheap apartments. The first words they hear are of the ever-pressing need of money. For them there are no gay nurseries and bright toys. There may not even be sufficient clothing or food. Swimming lessons and carefree summer vacations are unheard and unthought of. Dreams of college, studies, ambitions must be put aside. It's work for you, my son! What if it does stunt and twist a none too healthy body? You are considered lucky to be able to pile up profits for a master class even though your body does get twisted and broken in the effort.

Of course you may not have to do this for your entire life. There is always the glorious possibility of war. If there is a war and you are still healthy enough to be considered worth killing you will be sent to the front accompanied by the inspiring tunes of a martial band and there blown to bits along with your dreams and blasted ambitions. Do not falter, my son, you must protect the wealth you have created for your ruling class.

We women who go through life with empty arms rather than raising children for such a fate raise our fists in a vow of vengeance. Throughout the world we must unite to fight for the complete overthrow of this social and economic system. Then we shall have children, healthy children, who will go through life gayly, confidently, and suffering only the ills that are created by nature, not by mankind.

Mignon Beck

So long as they can they will keep the worker up in the clouds, away from old Mother Earth, away from the material facts, away from real relations of the two classes of society.—Ernest Jones.

Why I Am An Anarchist

By BENJAMIN R. TUCKER

This brief but brilliant essay was just reprinted (hand-set and hand-bound) by Comrade Laurance Labadie, in a limited edition.

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ART and LITERATURE

SUGGS

Suggs pulled the lapel of his summer coat closer to his neck and shivered. The main street of Fort Worth was a forlorn street of sleet-covered pavements for a blue northern was whistling a brittle tune across the foot hills lying beyond the packing houses, blood thirsty killers that stalked in the suburbs.

It was past midnight and the streets were vacant. A corner cafe and a drug store in the same vicinity were open and a few men loitered there drinking bootleg rotgut and telling vulgar jokes.

Suggs was an outcast. Even the prostitutes in the crib brothels along Calhoun street frowned on him.

Pimps, maggots in a cesspool of vice, whispered and sniggered when he passed.

Suggs was a dope fiend—a main line shooter. In the parlance of the underworld he placed the hypodermic needle, known to hop heads as the dope gun, in a vein and then pulled the trigger. Suggs had been on the stuff for 20 years. He now was past 40. In the early days of the habit, the stuff gave him the proper thrill by using it in the ordinary manner, but, with the passing of the years, dope, like a rodent, tore with carnivorous teeth at his vitals and he became not only a drug addict but a loathsome piece of human driftwood whose lustful appetite carried him into the depths of depravity. Suggs wore a shame-face look . . . the look of a beaten man. His eyes never looked other eyes straight . . . they could not stand the pressure, for Sugg's eyes were those of a man who was ashamed.

Suggs was cold and hungry, hungry for his dope! For a whole day he had been without the solace of his precious drug and he was shivering in terror for drug addicts know better than most people the definition of despair! Suggs could not remember when he was happy for, even when he was a child in a Forth Worth tenement house, his stomach hurt . . . he didn't know why and there was no doctor to tell him that his mother's milk was not sufficiently rich for him and the pain in his stomach was a hunger pain. And there was no father present to lend a helping hand. The father, after the illicit affair that resulted in Sugg's existence, departed and the girl mother, unprotected by marriage vows, tried to fight against disease and disgrace, but the load was too heavy.

The mother, sick with syphilis contracted when she became a prostitute in preference to starving, and sicker with disgrace, chose the pistol route as the quickest way to escape further torture in the place called "a great world" by a few who still preached the doctrine that all men are created equal. This sick girl mother had never heard of Thomas Jefferson, but she knew something about economics the father of democracy had missed when they wrote the piece of paper called the Declaration of Independence. She knew that her baby, tainted with disease, under-nourished and little limbs bowed from rickets, was not born with the same chance as the son of the millionaire. The mother was brave, braver than the world's mightiest field marshal who ordered a million men to the front, but she wanted to rest—a pistol bullet through the brain and she slept!

Suggs was two years old when his mother went to sleep. When neighbors rushed to the apartment they found this little distorted piece of humanity handling the pistol—it attracted him! Then came the years in a county home for the

under-privileged children. Twelve years in this institution and Suggs was fully competent to run away and enter a life of crime in a great city.

So—Suggs walked the streets of the great city and shivered. He was sick but he did not know it for he had never been well.

"Hey, Suggs, where ye goin'," snapped a voice from the sidewalk. Suggs jumped. He always jumped when called. It was a habit he acquired early in life.

Jess Hubbard, plain clothes policeman, was talking. Hubbard was anxious to be promoted to the detective division. He believed that one good pinch—the arrest of a suspect and the clearing up of a big crime would turn the trick. So—

"Suggs," growled Hubbard, "let's get to goin'! . . . you are held on suspicion . . . You are the cheap skate that robbed Johnnie Wertz's pawn shop, stole the sparkler that cost \$5.00."

Suggs, half crazed for drugs, murmured something. His eyes were blurry and his feet were shaking.

"Gimme some dope," Suggs pleaded, "some hop, officer. I'm a sick man . . ."

Hubbard laughed.

"Nothin' doing until you tell me straight about this burglary job," Hubbard snapped. "Gotta talk right—cough up and I'll help you along."

Hubbard reached into his pocket and pulled out a parcel of "stuff."

Hubbard was smart. He always carried along a little dope for "special occasions." The plain clothes man exhibited the package. Suggs shook as if stricken with ague. He reached out with long, bony fingers. He did not utter a word but his eyes said "please."

"Come on, tell the truth," barked the plain clothes policeman, "tell me about that burglary!"

"I'll talk . . . talk for the dope," Suggs said.

"In the presence of witnesses," the plain clothes policeman said, as he called two taxi-cab drivers to his side to listen to a verbal statement.

"This baby wants to tell me about breaking into Johnnie Wertz's pawn shop," Hubbard said. "I want you guys to listen so you can be witnesses if he tries to back down on the matter . . . course he don't have to make a statement—he's under arrest but he is making a volunteer statement."

"I broke in and got the stuff . . ." Suggs said, "I broke in and got the jewel outta . . ."

"That's sufficient," Hubbard said. "Lets get going to jail. You can shake that sentence off in 'bout five years."

Suggs went to the big house.

Hubbard got his promotion. The records at police headquarters was a bit better as one burglary was marked, "solved."

Each evening Johnnie Johns, the pawn broker, went to a hidden safe in the back of his joint and gazed at the jewels he had lied about being stolen.

"Still got the sparklers," he whispered. "Also collected the insurance coin!"

But Suggs did not know. He was in the penitentiary. His eyes still were blurry and he wore the look of a beaten man. But so far as he knew, Thomas Jefferson was right when he said that all men were created equal!

HARRY BLOCK

trees nor grass about them, just wide, brick buildings anywhere in the neighborhood. They are relics of the past kept up by people of the past. The congregators pray with fervor, and do not allow any new thoughts to enter their minds. Jehovah is the One, the Most Powerful, the Most Merciful. He never had a Son. He would not be bothered. And they sway to the right, and they sway to the left, and bow low, and they shout, weep, and often sing when they hold communion—three times a day—with their only God, the most Powerful, the most Merciful.

Saturday is Sunday. Saturday was Jehovah's Sunday. They only are His people, His Chosen People. Nobody can offer them any better ideas, why change!

IV.—JEWISH TEMPLES

The Jewish Temple is where a college graduate with a glib tongue delivers his philippics. God is absent there. The Jewish temple is an entertainment place under the guise of a Prayer House. People do not pray there; they just mumble. The pages of their prayer books have double columns—one column is in Hebrew which is incomprehensible to the upholders of the Temple; the other column is in goish. The story is not modern and is written in old style—too bothersome to bother. The congregators of the Jewish Temples are the civilized sons and daughters of the pious, bearded Jews. They do not abandon the old, and do not accept the new. They just look wise. On Atonement Day they fast after meals.

The Jewish Temple may have a low dome, but it invariably flaunts its seven branched candelabra. It is something of a Protestant, a Catholic, or a Moslem Pray-House, but it has no face of its own. It is detached, clever, and nowhere.

ACTION

GERARD DE LACAZE DUTHIERS

"Action comes first," said Goethe, that is what differentiates those who are alive from the dead. Not to act is not to live, it is to commit suicide. To act is to think, to create, to translate into positive reality the needs, aspirations, wishes and the wills that agitate our souls. Action is for the word and written sentence what the fruit is to the tree. Sayings and the written word could have no value if they cannot produce the deed. Action provokes a resonance, it constitutes an example, possessing a great deal of incomparable enthusiasm.

Old Man U. S. A.

Old man, in your filthy rags,
Why are you begging in the street?
Why do you whine of poverty?
You have money in your pockets;
You have much hoarded treasure.
Old man, don't you hear your children crying?
Don't you see their undernourished bodies
And their wan, pinched faces?
Don't you see your sons
Sulking with hanging heads,
Ill-clothed, hungry, jobless,
Because you will not use your treasure,
But go as a wretched beggar,
Displaying your poverty in the streets of the world,
—You who might live as a prince
Among the nations?

—MYRTLE G. BURGER.

Song From A Thistle

All yesterday I walked a narrow path
Where thorns leaned close with eager stinging;
The pain would have but mattered little then,
If I had caught your singing.
But you were much too far with wanderlust,
And I, undaunted, cut a thistle;
Most patiently from out the prickly stalk,
I carved myself a whistle!

—ROSE MYRA PHILLIPS.

Moloch Mammon

Every altar deserted, desolate,
Every altar except the one to Gold:
His congregation is without a mate,
His martyrs come from both the young and old;
Like unto Moloch of the ancient tribe,
His brutal jowls and talons never close,
His sweetest offerings come smeared with bribe
And smell of blood is sweeter than the rose.
His fiery maw consumes without a fear
And endlessly he importunes for more,
His most nectared drink is the orphan's tear,
His choicest relish sweat and infant gore,
His rosary is disappointed age,
The shattered hope of youth is his delight,
His hymns are formed from sob of love and sage,
He drivels over misery and blight.
He loves to sip the dregs of widow's grief,
His sacrament the curse of the whore,
His catechism the lies of trade and thief
And dispatched to taint every human shore;
All creeds and dogmas kneel before his throne
And take with calm his sharpened bloody rod,
They never cease to whimper and atone
And praise him as the only living God.

—JACK GREENBERG.

The Madonna of Calowhill

Black tears: bored valleys through caked layers
Of powder and rouge as the little Salvation Army Miss
Told of Christ and Magdalen.
A peroxide blonde sniffed and sobbed, "Aw hell—"
Legs of sin carried a worn body to a shadowy hallway;
Creaky stairs like Pharisees cried out in joy
While footsteps of shame
Ran out shouting to the little Miss pleading.
Night lowered and a friendly fog
Covered up a multitude of sins.

—FRANK ANKENBRAND, JR.

Song For Comrades

We cannot win but together,
Our weapons fierce courage and love!
In ourselves all hope of salvation,
But little we ask from above!
Shoulder to shoulder, my brothers,
Hands clasping hands, stand upright!
Shutting out forces of evil
That batter our walls in the night!
Proud we must be, O my comrades,
Fearless and none shall enslave!
Singing, each one shall be master,
The earth for the free and the brave!

—JEANETTE SELETZ.

True action is profound and disdains all that is artificial. It is not merely a simple appearance, but a sensible deed, real and concrete. It could be in a silent manner and develop itself in the darkness and mystery; we not always see it, but action always creates, and that is what makes it more firm, noble, strong, and beautiful. Humble actions are often more admirable, they are neither moved by noise nor by glory, it is with frequency that they act in the darkness, more and better than in plain daylight.

Action does not require theatrical showiness, which frequently diminishes the sincerity and idealism of its authors. It is said "He is a man of action," to thus designate a man of energy, one who loves Truth, is faithful to Justice, is ready to fight for these rights till they triumph, even if it costs him his life. Men of action are rare, more rare than the charlatans. Many men pass for men of action when they are not even men, but a pile of inert matter in the road of life. Action is life, inaction is death.

(English version by L. RAYMOND)

Houses of Prayer

I.—PROTESTANT

Most Protestant Churches are elegant, delicate, and co-quettish. They are slim, slender and tall. They are young Susannas, young prima donnas. They also are show houses. They greet everybody, but they do not greet all alike. There are the God seekers of the front pew, the gentleman and his family, who is the director of the City Bank, and the gentleman and his family, who runs the Paper-Soles Shoe Factory. Then there are the back rows and the galleries for the garret and the basement dwellers, for the quarter-a-week Christmas savers, and for the hands who put the paper in the soles for their friends to wear.

The organ plays: "Keep on Giving for Tomorrow You May Die." The choir sings: "Blessed Be the Takers, Shall Their Conscience Be Stiff as Cold Iron," and the minister, with eyes closed, head bowed, holds forth that only spiritual food is what empty stomachs need to grind.

Meanwhile, ushers walk the aisles and collect silver coins and dollar bills into satin skull caps fastened to thin, long poles.

"Good morning, good morning. A nice morning this morning," is the general greeting and the general farewell. Next Sunday they shall not fail to meet again.

Protestant Churches conduct their business on Sundays.

II.—CATHOLIC

The Catholic Church is a spic and span middle-aged, sombre clad matron. She also is a spiritual bath-house for cleansing the sins of all sinners, and she has her broad doors wide open to all; to all alike.

The first comers as the late comers, those of the first rows as those of the last rows—all have the same privilege: to genuflect and pray. She is the House of the Lord.

"Offer your prayer, and give your salute, and your chest shall be relieved of its heaviness. The Lord is merciful. He forgives you all." If only the pub were not on the corner; if only that pretty hussy were not making those wry smiles at the window. "What of it! Come and confess. Purge, not perjure, yourself. The Lord is merciful. God died that we should be washed of our sins. Amen."

III.—JEWISH

Most synagogues have flat roofs, according to Abraham's covenant with Jehovah. They usually have no fences, nor

IS THIS WHAT THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AIMED AT IN RUSSIA?

"I propose something much wider, namely, the transformation of this conference (World Disarmament) into a permanent body concerned to preserve by every possible means the security of all States . . ."—Maxim Litvinoff. (May 29, 1934, at Geneva.)

"Marshal Petain, French War Minister, will visit Warsaw soon, and it is understood from non-Soviet sources that the French General and his staff will come on to Moscow to attend the Red Army maneuvers."—Harold Denny in New York Times, May 28, 1934.

"Moscow, April 16, 1934.—The foundry manager. M. Leitin, also was a member of the Communist party. He was a sensitive, highly ambitious man, only 22 years old, whose devotion to his work had won him numerous bonuses and honors. When faulty castings were produced by the foundry, however, leading workers there unjustly blamed him. They organized a funeral parade headed by a coffin bearing the manager's name and photograph which so humiliated and horrified him that he killed himself."

"Soviet Officials' Night Life Too Costly; OGPU Seizes 31 in Moscow 'On Business'."—Heading over cablegram of April 10 from Moscow to the New York Times. The story relates in part:

"They have been in Moscow supposedly on public business, most of them engaged in making purchases for their factories and offices. Their expenses here were paid on a per diem basis. There had been suspicion that for some time many out-of-town officials were staying on far longer than necessary, enjoying the capital's night life.

The thirty-one named today were rounded up yesterday by the OGPU in a series of quiet raids on the leading hotels. They include the representatives of the Tiflis timber, butter and movie trusts and the Caucasian chemical trust and children's committee; the director of the Georgian ore department, the head of the Batum iron foundries supply department, the secretary of the Transcaucasian Health Commissariat and the legal representatives of the city soviet of Batum."

"Washington, April 10.—Under a different flag but in surroundings otherwise reminiscent in their luxury of the old imperial regime, the Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Mrs. Troyanovsky held tonight their first official reception in Washington.

The scene in the old Russian Embassy in Sixteenth Street, now the Soviet Embassy, renovated and refurbished throughout by the new government, was as brilliant as any ever held there by the late George Bakhmeteff, the last royalist Ambassador, who refused to serve any other government than that of the late czar.

Guests making the tour of the rooms converged in the state dining room to marvel at the excellence and abundance of the offerings of the most elaborate kitchen in any official household in the capital, not excepting the White House.

From its refrigerators, rolling table and steam table, it was announced, John, the embassy chef, can prepare a banquet for 200 without moving from his station, where were produced tonight chef d'oeuvres of the culinary art far exceeding in interest and variety the simple refreshments offered in the White House and many other embassies and legations here."—New York Times.

"Of course we are far from being enthusiastic about the Fascist regime in Germany. But Fascism is not the issue here, if only for the reason that Fascism, for example in Italy, did not prevent the U. S. S. R. establishing very good relations with that country . . . If the interests of the U. S. S. R. demand reproachment with this or that country which is not interested in disturbing the peace (preserving the status quo) we shall take this step without hesitation. Our orientation is toward the U. S. S. R., and toward the U. S. S. R. alone."—Report of the seventeenth congress, C. P. U. S. S. R., 1934.

"Bucharest, July 5, 1934.—The Supreme Rumanian War Council under King Carol's presidency decided today to send a special military delegation to Paris to negotiate for the purchase of French equipment to modernize the Rumanian army. Rearmament was the King's and generals' condition for recognition of the Soviet Government as demanded by France.

"Moscow, April 23, 1934.—Two men, one a railway executive and the other a shipper, were sentenced to death today for receiving and giving bribes for favoritism in the allotment of freight cars.

This brings to ten the number of men on whom the 'highest measure of social defense,' which is a euphemism for firing squads, has been visited within a month in the effort of the Soviet authorities to eradicate inefficiencies of the transportation system which are hampering the country's vast economic program.

Less than a month ago the authorities made an example to persons responsible for bad railroad management by sentencing five railroad employees to death for negligence leading to fatal wrecks."—New York Times.

"Sofia, Aug. 3, 1934.—The arrival in Sofia, some time before Sept. 15, of the new Russian Minister to Bulgaria is an event to which most people here are looking forward with eager curiosity.

The renewal of relations with Russia had been contemplated for some time, but M. Mouchanoff's Cabinet hesitated to take the necessary steps owing to opposition from the Right and the Industrialists—the latter fearing that Russian trade might harm their interests, while the former were apprehensive of communism. However, Colonel Gheorghieff's Cabinet, in which are several Ministers who received their higher education in Russia, feels itself strong enough to suppress communism on the one hand while enjoying the

economic benefits which are expected to result from trade with Russia."—New York Times.

"Moscow, Aug. 22, 1934.—The increase in retail turnover shows that petty production in beginning to revive. Collective farms, for instance have begun to organize cooperative smithies and carpentry, pottery and other shops producing goods for home consumption and establishing stores for the sale of their products in market towns. They are hampered however, by lack of experience, while the Central Cooperative Association, which has both, suffers from bureaucratic methods . . ."—New York Times.

"Moscow, March 21, 1934.—Things have changed in Moscow since the United States recognized the Soviet Union.

The result has been an interchange of courtesies between Americans and Russians, of which a typical example may be found in the dinner recently given by M. Doletsky, the general manager of Tass, the official Soviet press agency, for Kent Cooper, general manager of The Associated Press, and Karl A. Bickel, general manager of the United Press.

This banquet, which was called a dinner, was held in the vast mansion of a former textile magnate named Morosoff, the rooms of which are decorated with carved oak and light blue paper decked with fleur de lys, which was the crest of the royal house of the Bourbons of France. In this dignified setting the sixty guests sat down before long tables with glasses, plates and cutlery from the Czar's palaces.

Twenty white-clad waiters served caviar on ice and chilled vodka. Then followed hors d'oeuvres, cold and hot. Then came borshcht, a soup with sour cream, and white Caucasian wine.

Then salmon with white French wine. The next course consisted of roast pheasant and turkey, with red Crimean wine. This was followed by sweets and fruits with French champagne, in accordance with the Continental custom. The fruits were not so lavish from the American point of view—oranges, pears and apples—but they were accompanied by ice cream worthy of America."—New York Times.

"The first military courtesies extended to a representative of the Russian Government at Governors Island since the Czarist regime were accorded yesterday to the Soviet Consul General, Leonid M. Tolokonski, (of New York City) when he paid an official call upon the commanding officer of the army's second corps area, Major Gen. Dennis E. Nolan.

A salute of eleven guns, befitting his rank, from the battery at Fort Jay on the island greeted M. Tolokonski as his automobile was landed at the island ferry slip before a military guard of honor, composed of Company K of the Sixteenth Infantry and the regimental band."—New York Times.

"Moscow, July 10, 1934.—The OGPU, the State secret police organization, was abolished tonight by a series of decrees from the Kremlin. In its place a new department of the government, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, was created. Genrikh G. Yagoda, acting chief of the OGPU, was named Commissar of Internal Affairs.

The chief change brought about by this reorganization is the transferring of the judicial functions of the OGPU, which summarily tried suspects whom it arrested, to the regular courts and to the military tribunals.

The new organizations are charged with making secure the revolutionary order and preserving the security of the State; protecting public property; registering all civil data, including births, deaths, marriages and divorces, and guarding the country's borders. They will also have charge of correctional labor camps, of fire protection and of handling exiles.

One significant section of the decrees provides for the organization in the Commissariat of Internal Affairs of a special body having the right to exile or imprison persons in labor camps for a maximum term of five years or to deport them from the U. S. S. R. by administrative order."

—New York Times.

"Moscow, July 12, 1934.—Soviet leadership is making it thoroughly clear that it meant literally its warning in the resolutions of the Central Executive Committee last Sunday that no interference with the fulfillment of the grain delivery quotas would be tolerated, even though accompanied by the excuse that the crop has been curtailed by last Spring's drought.

"Anti-State tendencies," of which the resolutions of the central committee spoke, are already appearing in some sections of the South, where the harvesting of the Winter wheat crop is now in full swing, and the government is taking swift action against those responsible."

—New York Times.

"Moscow, June 27, 1934.—The Soviet drive against graft in government and industry, a campaign that in recent months has sent dozens before firing squads and scores to prisons, exposed still more big and little crooks today and sounded the death knell for two of them.

The grafters exposed ranged from employees of Moscow's partly built subway, who stole and sold building materials valued at 100,000 rubles, down to petty speculators on the railways, who "earned" 3-ruble premiums for fictitious good work . . . Two of the thieves were sentenced to death and the third to ten years imprisonment."—New York Times.

"Moscow, June 8, 1934.—Six more men holding prominent places in Soviet industry will die because of the government's determination to stamp out graft, large or small, wherever it appears.

These six men, who will face firing squads at some dawn in the next few days, were the most grievous offenders among twenty-nine who have just been convicted after a ten-day trial at Kiev. Their property is to be confiscated. News of the outcome of the trial reached Moscow today.

The charges against them were giving and taking bribes, systematic pillaging of State property, flitching and selling of

manufactured goods; speculating in foreign money on the "black bourse," a very serious offense in the Soviet Union, and "violation of Socialist discipline."—New York Times.

"Moscow, July 7, 1934.—A first class little war is raging in the Moscow Institute of Horse Breeding; a technical school under the Commissariat for Agriculture, over the question of whether students should marry.

In the wall newspaper . . . (the Director) published articles attacking the "antiquated institution of marriage," advocating free love instead, advising those who had been foolish enough to marry to repair the "damage" by divorce and practically forbade further student marriages.

The quarrel got to the point where the Pravda today published a biting ironical article arraigning the director, who is a member of the Communist party. The publication of this article is a sure indication that something unpleasant is about to happen to the director."—New York Times.

"Moscow, Aug. 17, 1934.—The Red army typifies and illustrates the effort that is being made to change the mentality of the Russian people. It displays, also, many signs of a new spirit, which shows that a change is being accomplished.

To any close observer of Soviet affairs the army cannot fail to appear as a suitable yardstick for measuring the whole system, because the process of universal regimentation that the Bolsheviks are trying to introduce can scarcely be understood abroad unless one uses a comparison with the army.

It is highly significant that whereas recruits tried to evade military service in Czarist days it is now welcomed eagerly for moral and material reasons. First, the Red Army is better fed, housed and clothed than the mass of the population."—New York Times.

"The red flag of Soviet Russia, with its crossed hammer and sickle, flew over the petit bourgeois of Washington Square as they sipped their cocktails in the sidewalk cafe in front of the Fifth Avenue Hotel last evening . . . upstairs in a suite of the hotel the new Russian Ambassador, Alexander A. Troyanovsky, who had just arrived by train, as guest of Representative William I. Sirovitch of this city, a good Tammany Democrat, to see the Carnera-Baer prize fight, was interviewed."—New York Times, June 15, 1934.

Demand An Investigation

For years the Bolshevik government has been so systematically advertised to the public as the symbol of revolution and the guide to a new social order, that it is sometimes forgotten that there are other schools of revolutionary thought besides that which emanates from the Kremlin.

It is equally forgotten that thousands of people who were not Bolsheviks worked devotedly and militantly to pave the way for this new social order. We do not hear of these people today. Where are they?

A Bolshevik leader once declared, "There is room for all political groups in Russia—for one of them, Moscow; for the rest, jail." Hence, since the advent of the dictatorship, Red Russia has had as prisoners and exiles—just as White Russia has had before it—many of the noblest spirits of the revolution. And why? Simply because they dared to disagree with the Bolshevik status quo.

It is conceivable that 17 years ago the "defense of the revolution" might be advanced as a justification for such unrevolutionary procedure. But today, with Russia's tremendous army, its highly organized police system, its unctuously established diplomatic relations, such an excuse is reduced to absurdity. Under present conditions the continued persecution of these rebels has as its only explanation the desire on the part of a dominant political clique to hold the revolution within the strait-jacket of its own bureaucracy!

At the present writing there is in addition to all this a new series of persecutions against many of our exiled and imprisoned comrades. The facts as we have them are these:

A system of frame-up charges against the "politicals" has been inaugurated. Individuals in far distant and separated districts are summarily accused of plotting against the government—are raided, and with only the flimsiest pretense of justice—transferred for extended terms to strange and more terrible exiles. Here denied not only social contact, the very necessities of life or the opportunities of self-support, they are subjected to physical torment. "Politicals" are almost never released. At the end of each term, they are asked—with freedom as the golden award dangled before them—to sign documents stating their full approval of the Bolshevik government. Upon honest refusal, they are once more doomed to a continued exile and harsher persecution.

The procedure we have just described is as unnecessary as it is cruel. What sane argument can be advanced for its perpetration?

We invite enlightened and humane people and periodicals of all schools of thought to demand full investigation of these matters. We urge them to join with us in our just challenge of the revolutionary claims of a Bolshevik government which casts out as criminals those who sought to build a new and happier social order.

The South Side Libertarian Group,
Chicago, Illinois.

Financial Statement

(From July 15 to September 15, 1934)

Income	\$289.64
Expenditures	165.33
Deficit from last issue	89.97
Total	\$253.35
Total cash	\$289.64
Total disbursement	255.35
Balance	\$ 34.29

REPORT OF KROPOTKIN GROUP

The Kropotkin Group of Stelton, N. J., has disbursed its recently raised funds as follows:

To Russian Political Prisoners	\$10.00
To Spanish Political Prisoners	10.00
To the Mooney Defense Committee	5.00
To the Modern School of Stelton	10.00
To the Kropotkin Library of Stelton	5.00
To Cultura Proletaria	5.00
To the Freedom Group or Federation Committee	5.00
To MAN!	2.00

Money to the first three named was sent to MAN! for forwarding as directed.